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Fifteenth-Century Books in The University of Texas Library: An Interim Check-List

A. E. SKINNER

THE PRIMARY EMPHASIS of the University of Texas Rare Book Collections is not directed toward fifteenth-century books, but the Collections do contain several fine examples of *incunabula* ('cradle books' of the printing art). For the most part, these books have come to the University as gifts—in the Mirian Lutcher Stark, the Genaro Garcia, and the George A. Aitken collections. In 1931 Mrs. Anna K. Tobin made the University a rich gift of seven *incunabula* and an illuminated breviary on white vellum. Mr. H. P. N. Gammell presented two pieces in 1947, and other items have been added by purchase. Because of uncompleted cataloguing in several of the Collections, these items have remained unannounced to the average user of the Rare Book Collections. It is to bring them to light that this interim check-list has been prepared.

Chronologically, the items in the check-list span almost the whole of the 'cradle-book' period of printing, from the Gutenberg leaf of ca. 1455 to the Horace of 1498. It is generally believed that European printing had its beginnings in the work of Johann Gutenberg some time before 1450. It is known that Gutenberg experimented with movable type as early as 1448, for fragments of an Almanack and Donatus' Latin grammar from that date have survived. Before the summer of 1456, probably in the previous year, Gutenberg printed a complete Bible, the first major work from movable type. The University of Texas possesses a single leaf from this great work. Another example of a major development in printing is the leaf from the Rusch-Koberger Bible of 1481, which exemplifies a later

printing of the first Roman letter type, that first used by the 'R-Printer,' Adolf Rusch, as early as 1464. This font is distinguished by the large, peculiar capital *R*. The leaf from Caxton's Chaucer of ca. 1478 is a fine example of early English printing.

Several of the Texas items seem to be unique. Perhaps the most important example is the *Missale Morinense*, printed in Paris in 1491, of which no other copy is recorded. Another equally rare item is the Hebrew *incunabulum* 'Nofet Zufim,' printed in Mantua ca. 1480; this also is without a known duplicate. Other items in the collections exhibit several very fine examples of fifteenth century book illustrations. The 1482 Euclid is the first book with *printed* (as contrasted with woodcut or manuscript) mathematical figures and diagrams. The 1478 *Sacro Bosco* has a group of well-preserved woodcut astronomical diagrams. Certain of the woodcuts in Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*, of which Texas possesses a copy of the third Latin edition of 1497, are usually attributed to Albrecht Dürer, the most renowned woodcut artist of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This particular edition was printed by Johann Bergmann de Olpe, better known as the printer of Columbus' reports on the new American continent. A superb example of fine book illustration is the famed *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493. This lengthy history of the world, beginning with the Creation and working down to a counter-claim by Martin Behaim for the discovery of the New World, contains two maps and 1809 magnificent woodcuts (645 different cuts plus 1164 repeats). In the colophon of the *Chronicle* the woodcuts are attributed to Wilhelm Pleydenwurff and Michael Wohlgemüth, the latter being the teacher of Dürer. The *Chronicle* has been fully and lovingly described in Ellen Shaffer's monograph, published by Dawson's Bookshop in Los Angeles in 1950.

Another fine example of the early illustrated book is the *Gart der Gesundheit*, printed by Peter Schoeffer in 1485 and attributed to Johann Wonnecker de Kaube, town Physician of Frankfurt. This book is a popular work on medicine, treating mostly of herbal remedies but also containing the uses of a few animals and a section on urines. The forerunner of a long series of German herbals (some 14 editions before 1500) and the second or third printed herbal, this work is often confused with the completely separate Latin

Hortus Sanitatis; both, however, stem from the basically identical manuscript books of the mediaeval doctors.

The Texas copy of the *Gart der Gesundheit* contains only 248 of 379 hand-coloured woodcuts in the complete work, lacking the frontispiece of a group of physicians with their books but containing the cut of the woman and doctor at the beginning of the section on urines. These cuts are landmarks of botanical illustration, for they form the basis of later designs in herbal illustration. While many of the cuts are derived from contemporary manuscript drawings, others are undoubtedly newly done from nature. All are done with a stylized simplicity and certain lack of design; indeed, some are hardly recognizable, being merely conventional representations. The animal illustrations (including beaver, elephant, wolf, hare, snake, and mussels) are better done and are most charming. A fascinating touch of mediaeval medicine is seen in the partially mutilated mandrake root, with its little man, in chapter 157.

The other books in the list follow the usual fifteenth-century pattern. Religious and philosophical works predominate; the rest pertain to science, history and literature. Several are of especial interest. Balbus' *Catholicon* is a fine example of the mediaeval glossary or lexicon, precursor of the modern dictionary. Classical literature is represented by Cicero, Horace, Martial, Aulus Gellius, and Ovid; contemporary literature, by two editions of Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods*, a popular work on mythology. Mediaeval science is reflected in the Euclid, the work of Johann Angelus on the astrolabe, King Alphonso's astronomical tables, and Sacro Bosco's little work on the sphericity of the earth. The remainder of the group is chiefly concerned with religious subjects, notable among which is a recent acquisition, St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, printed in Venice by Jenson in 1475.

This check-list follows, for the most part, the entries in Margaret B. Stilwell's *Incunabula in American Libraries* (Second census, 1940), which lists only fifteen of the items. The Stilwell numbers are given, even for those copies which are not recorded there as being at the University of Texas. Since the cataloguing of the fifteenth-century books is as yet incomplete, the Texas library call number or inventory number is given to facilitate use of the books. With the exception of two items (numbers 2 and 24), all the fif-

teenth-century books are shelved in the Rare Book Collections. Those two items are shelved in the Latin American Collection.

CHECK-LIST

1. 523 ALPHONSUS, rex Castellae. *Tabulae Astronomicae.*
M887t Venice: Johannes Hamman, 31 Oct. 1492.
1504 Stilwell A474
*(bound with: MUELLER, JOHANN, Regiomontanus. *Tabulae directionum projectionumque . . .* Venice: P. Liechtensteyn, 1504.)*
2. GZ ANGELUS, JOHANNES. *Astrolabium.* Venice: Johannes Emeric de Spira, 9 June 1494. Stilwell A625
G093 En33
3. 265.6 ANTONINUS, Florentinus, saint. *Confessionale.*
A88c Venice: Christophorus Arnoldus, 1473.
1473 Stilwell A750
4. q093 ASTESANUS de AST. *Summa de casibus conscientiae.*
As83s Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 11 May 1482.
Stilwell A1037
5. 281.4 AUGUSTINUS, AURELIUS, saint. *De civitate Dei.*
Au45d Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 2 Oct. 1475.
1475 Stilwell A1094
6. q473 BALBUS, JOHANNES. *Catholicon.* Strassburg:
B188i [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinberg (George Husner), not after 1483]. Stilwell B23
7. Stark BIBLIA LATINA (Gutenberg). [Mainz: Printer of
6475 the 42-line Bible (Johann Gutenberg ?), not after
August 1456.] *One leaf only.* Stilwell B460
8. Stark BIBLIA LATINA (Rusch-Koberger). [Strassburg: The
6476 R-Printer (Adolf Rusch, for Anton Koberger) not
after 23 Sept. 1481.] *One leaf only.* Stilwell B541
9. q853 BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI. *Genealogia deorum.*
B63ge Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus,
1494 23 Sept. 1494/95. Stilwell B672
- (9a) GELLIUS, AULUS. *Noctes Atticae.* Venice: Christo-
phorus de Quaeitis and Martinus de Lazaronibus, 17
July 1493. Stilwell G112

- (9b) NONIUS MARCELLUS. Festus Pompeius Varro.
Venice: Nicolaus de Ferraris, 8 June 1492.
Stilwell N242 (var.)
10. q853 BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI. Genealogia deorum.
B63g Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 25
1497 March 1497. Stilwell B673
11. Stark BRANT, SEBASTIAN. Stultifera Navis. Basel: Johann
sup. 7 Bergmann de Olpe, 1 March 1497. Stilwell B965
12. 252 CARACCIOLIS, ROBERTUS. Sermones de timore
C175t judiciorum et de morte. Nuremberg: Friedrich
Creussner, 1479. *Incomplete: contains only the 'De
morte.'* Stilwell C172
13. Wd CHAUCER, GEOFFREY. The Canterbury Tales. [West-
C393 minster: William Caxton, ca. 1478.] *One leaf only.*
478c Stilwell C387
14. 878 CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS. De officiis [and five
C700 other works]. Rome: Eucharius Silber, 20 June 1481.
1481 Stilwell C535 (var.)
15. Stark EUCLIDES. Elementa geometriae. Venice: Erhard
6480 Ratdolt, 23 May 1482. Stilwell E86
16. 582.12 GART DER GESUNDHEIT. Mainz: Peter Schöffer,
H789 28 March 1485. Stilwell G87
17. f878 HIERONYMUS, saint. Vitae sanctorum patrum. Nu-
H15v remberg: Anton Koberger, 7 May 1478.
1478 Stilwell H182
18. 492.4 HEBRAICA. JEHUDA, LEO, rabbi. Nofet Zufim
J88n [The Honeycomb]. [Mantua: Abraham Conat, ca.
1480.] Stilwell H559
19. q878 HORATIUS FLACCUS, QUINTUS. Opera. Strassburg:
H5 Johann Grüninger, 12 March 1498. Stilwell H397
1498
20. q888 JAMBЛИCHУS, of Chalcis. De mysteriis [and seventeen
J2d.Lf other works]. Venice: Aldus Manutius Romanus, Sep-
tember 1497. Stilwell J193

21. 523 JOHANNES de SACRO BUSTO. Sphaera mundi.
Sa14 Venice: Franciscus Renner de Hailbrun, 1478.
1478 Stilwell J361
22. 808 MANCINELLUS, ANTONIUS. Scribendi orandique
M312s modus. Venice: Bernardus Benalius [not before 21
May 1493]. Stilwell M106
23. q878 MARTIALIS, MARCUS VALERIUS. Epigrammata.
M4 Venice: Bartholomaeus de Zanis, 13 November 1493.
1493 Stilwell M269
24. GZ MISSALE. MORINENSE. Missale ad usum Morinen-
G282.53 sem ecclesie. Paris: Johannes de Prato, 21 Oct. 1491.
M491 Stilwell M579
25. q265.6 NICOLAUS de AUSMO. Supplementum Summae Pisani-
N534s ellae. Cologne: Conrad Winters, de Homburg, 24
December 1479. Stilwell N50
26. q879 NICOLAUS de BLONY. Sermones de tempore et de
N543s sanctus, sive Viridarius. Strassburg: [Printer of the
1483 Jordanus de Quedlinberg (Georg Husner)], 22
November 1494, *i.e.* 1495. Stilwell N75
27. 878 OVIDIUS NASO, PUBLIUS. Publii Ovidii Nasonis in
08i Ibin opusculum. [Venice?: Jacobus Rubaeus?, 1488?].
1488 Stilwell 0140 (var.?)
28. Stark SAVONAROLA, HIERONYMUS. Expositione del
6290 psalmo lxxviii. Florence: a sancta Maria Maggiore
[Laurentius de Morganianis and Johannes Petri de
Magunto], 8 June 1496. Stilwell S205
29. Stark SCHEDEL, HARTMANN. Liber Chronicarum. Nurem-
6497 berg: Anton Koberger, 12 July 1493. Stilwell S281
30. 230 SPIERA, AMBROSIUS de. Quadragesimale de floribus
Sp44q sapientiae. Venice: Vindelinus de Spira, 18 Dec. 1476.
Stilwell S604
31. q230 THOMAS de ARGENTINA. Scripta super quatuor
T361s libros sententiarum. Strassburg: Martinus Flach, 1490.
Stilwell T313
32. q470 VALLA, LAURENTIUS. Elegantiae linguae latinae.
V24e [Venice]: Jacobus Rubaeus, [after 5 March] 1476. *Two
copies.* Stilwell V51

Sixteenth-Century Chronicles in The University of Texas Library

ROBERT ADGER LAW

THE LIBRARY of The University of Texas has been fortunate in assembling a fine collection of sixteenth-century English chronicles, including the prose annals of Fabyan, Grafton, Hall, Stow, and Holinshed, and such poetic versions as the *Mirror for Magistrates* and Warner's *Albion's England*. These chronicles are not always regarded with favor by modern historians since so much that they tell is now considered pure fiction. Yet on first publication their authority or their popular interest was so widely accepted that the stories they contain became the basis for many dramatic "histories" written by Shakespeare and other playwrights, as well as for certain semi-historical poems of Drayton, Daniel, and others. Thus the chronicles in their original form or faithfully reprinted are valuable to the student of Elizabethan literature.

Most important of these, of course, is Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, published first in two tall black-letter volumes, bearing the imprint of John Harrison, and having many small woodcut illustrations. Though it goes by his name, Holinshed was not the sole author of this work, for most of it is a compilation of previous chronicles, and much assistance in the original portions came from William Harrison and others. After Holinshed's death about 1580 succeeding editors revised his work, omitting all illustrations and adding new material to a second edition that early in 1587 was issued in two volumes, still carrying Holinshed's name. It chanced that the next year, 1588, saw the defeat of the Spanish Armada and a rising interest among Englishmen in the history of their land. Hence came out a flood of plays called "chronicle histories" by Marlowe, Greene, Shakespeare, and lesser

dramatists. Naturally, most of these playwrights, notably Shakespeare, leaned heavily on this freshly revised edition of Holinshed. For Shakespeare's use of the first edition no convincing evidence exists. His eight plays on the York-Lancaster dissension, his *Henry VIII*, *Macbeth*, and *Cymbeline* seem to have been drawn largely from the 1587 Holinshed. Surprisingly, evidence of any debt to the chronicle for *King Lear* is lacking.

Now the Library possesses good copies of both the 1577 and 1587 Holinsheds, with Ellis's excellent reprint of the second edition. Unfortunately, some present-day readers know these chronicles only from Boswell-Stone's volume entitled *Shakespere's Holinshed*. This is a careful and scholarly collection of excerpts from the *Chronicles*, with notation of the corresponding passages in each of Shakespeare's plays that are based thereon. But such a work necessarily presents an incomplete picture of the *Chronicles*, first in the citation of fragments taken out of their natural order to follow the order used by Shakespeare, and second, in the omission of all parts of Holinshed that the playwright passed over. The fact that he deliberately omitted some incident may be significant in evaluating his art.

Next in importance to Holinshed is Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, published in 1542, with later editions in 1548 and 1550. The Library has a clean copy of the 1550 one-volume black-letter edition, and also Ellis's 1809 reprint of the 1542 edition. As its title indicates, this earlier chronicle covers a comparatively short period of English history, beginning with events in the reign of Richard II and ending with those of Henry VII's rule. Its importance as a source for Shakespeare is evidence in the close correspondence between its very first incident and the opening scene of the play of *Richard II*, while its subsequent pages might furnish a rough outline for the two Parts of *Henry IV*, for *Henry V*, the three parts of *Henry VI* and *Richard III*. Indeed, Professor E. M. W. Tillyard, in his recent study of *Shakespeare's History Plays* (London, 1945), regretting the difficulty of obtaining a copy of Hall's work, states, "I doubt if Hall's great importance not only as an influence on Shakespeare but as a shaper of Tudor historical thought, not to speak of his considerable literary merit, has ever been recognized as it should."

Thus Tillyard implies doubt as to whether Shakespeare went directly to Holinshed as his primary source for the history plays or used Hall. Holinshed took over large parts of Hall with slight revision, though he frequently clarified or abridged Hall's rather verbose sentences. This may be illustrated by a few examples of parallel passages from Hall's 1550 and Holinshed's 1587 edition:

The duke of Yorke and his adherentes perceiuyng, that neither exhortacion serued, nor accuse[n]t preuailed against the duke of Somerset, determined to reue[n]ge their querell, and obteine their purpose, by open warre and marciall aduenture, and no lenger to slepe in so a waightie a businesse. (Hall, "Henry the vi," fol. lxxxvi, recto.)

The duke of Yorke and his adherents, perciuing that neither exhortation nor charging him with his crimes preuailed against the duke of Summerset, they meant to mind the matter by open war. (Holinshed, iii, 642.)

The kyng was requyred to purchase his [the Earl of March's] delyuerance by dyuerse of the nobilitie, but he could not heare on that syde, rather he would and wished al his linage in heuen. For then his title had beene out of all doubt & question. (Hall, "Henry the iiiii," fol. xvi, verso.)

The king was not hastie to purchase the diliuerance of the earle March, bicause his title to the crowne was well inough knownen, and therefore suffered him to remaine in miserable prison, wishing both the saide earle, and all other of his linage out of this life, with God and his saintcs in heauen, so they had beene out of the waie, for then all had beene well inough as he thought. (Holinshed, iii, 520.)

. . . these and other like offices of holyness, caused God to worke miracles for him [Henry VI] in his lyfe tyme, (as old menne sayed) By reason whereof, king Henry the seuenth not without cause, sued to Iuly Bysop of Rome, to haue him canonized, as other saintcs be: but the fees of canonizing of a king, wer of so great a quantitie at Rome (more then the canonizing of a Byshoppe or a prelate, although he satte in sainte Peters Cheire) that the said king thought it more necessary to kepe his money at home, for the profite of his realme and countrey, rather then to empouerysh his kingdom, for the gaining of a new holy day of saint Henry: remitting to God the iudgement of his will and intent. (Hall, "Edward the iv," fol. xxxiv, verso.)

. . . it pleased God to worke miracles for him in his life time, as men haue listed to report. By reason whereof, king Henrie the seauenth sued to Pope Julio the second, to haue him canonized a

saint. But for that the canonizing of a king seemed to be more costlie than for a bishop, the said king left off his suit in that behalfe; thinking better to sauе his monie, than to purchase a new holie daie of saint Henrie with so great a price, remitting to God the iudgement of his will and intent. (Holinshed, iii, 691.)

Thus, though Hall's language is often more picturesque than that of Holinshed, the latter's expression of the same thought is more direct and clear. Holinshed is also prone to add to his story an illustrative comment from Ovid or other classical writer. Personally, I am convinced that Hall was frequently of use to Shakespeare in composing his plays, but that Holinshed was his primary source.

Richard Grafton's *Chronicle at Large and Meere History of the Affayres of Englande* (1568-69) occupies two thick volumes bound in one. The smaller first volume traces the history of the English people from the Creation (they were descended from Adam) to the reign of William the Conqueror. The larger second volume carries on the story from William to Elizabeth I. Grafton frankly acknowledges that his work is a compilation of earlier chronicles, and for the period covered by Hall, he seems to have borrowed his predecessor's words without change. For this reason one may question the judgment of Dover Wilson in his recent edition of Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, where he names Grafton rather than Hall as the primary source of *2 Henry VI*. The individual chronicles differ too little for positive identification. Our University Library has both the original 1568-69 edition of Grafton and the 1809 reprint by Ellis.

The Texas copy of the 1568-69 Grafton is of uncommon interest. Its title-page is lacking but has been supplied by photostatic reproduction of the Huntington Library copy. On the fly-leaf of the Texas volume is written in a sixteenth-century hand, "L. Augustinus Seneschallus me possidet," with a crude drawing of a lion rampant, signifying royalty of the Steward (Seneschallus) family. The colophon carries the handwritten words, "Augustinus Steward" with several other letters now illegible. On another page a lop-sided shield bears the inscription, "stewardor[um] scutu[m] armor[um] sine inscuto dato 1570," which seems to be genealogically sound.¹

¹ For much of the information about this volume and the interpretation thereof I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Lucetta Teagarden, learned in heraldic lore. Like all others who are using the Rare Book Collections, I owe a great deal to the help and knowledge of Miss Fannie Ratchford, director of research there.

Handwritten comments on the margins, presumably by the owner, are frequently of interest. They serve to correct certain chronicler's errors, as "bishop" for "archbishop," or the "Duchess of Bavier and Countess Palentyne," instead of the printed "Duchess of Barre." Where Grafton has stated that Henry Earl of Richmond was "of the blood of Henry the sixth," a marginal note corrects Grafton's slip: "fault he was of ye blood of the duk of Somerset of J of gaunt descende." This and several other genealogical notations are well founded. On a blank page at the end of the book is penned a complete list of English monarchs, with their names turned into Latin, from William I to Elizabeth I. The heading runs, "inceptio regu[m] Angl," and the exact date is given at which each reign commenced. Unfortunately, we know nothing more of this Augustine Steward, so keenly interested in English history and Latin wording.²

The Library also contains a 1559 edition of *The New Chronicle of England and France* by Robert Fabyan, along with Ellis's 1811 reprint of that book. This chronicle contains rather brief items of happenings under separate years from 1189 to 1590 in the reigns of successive English and French sovereigns, but it records some happenings in London that are not mentioned in other works of the kind. Another chronicle associated with Fabyan lay unpublished until 1938, when a limited sumptuous edition of five hundred copies was issued. One of these came as a gift to the University Library from the Corporation of the City of London. *The Great Chronicle of London*, a magnificent large volume, beautifully illustrated and printed in special type on rich paper, was edited by Thomas and Thornley, who believe that the MS in the Guildhall Library, London, was composed in large part by Fabyan, himself. It covers the years from 1189 to 1512, and in its original form was probably used by Hall in the writing of his chronicle, as well as by John Stow, the antiquary, who later owned the manuscript.

² Since this sentence was put into type I have learned, through an article by S. Percival Vivian on the poet Thomas Campion (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV, 163), that the mother of Campion about 1577 "married Augustine Steward, of a family which was of some importance in the north-easterly home counties, and from which through his mother, Oliver Cromwell was descended." In 1580 Mrs. Steward died, and her children were left under the tutelage of Steward. This appears to me a probable identification of the book's owner, which, if true, may help explain why Campion's first published work in 1595 was a volume of Latin *Poemata*.

John Stow (1525?–1601), London citizen and tailor, deserves mention among English writers on three counts: as one of the first editors of Chaucer's works (1561, as author of *The Annales or Generall Chronicle of England* (1580 with later editions in 1592, 1601, 1605, and continuations after Stow's death in 1615 and 1631), and as author of *A Survey of London and Westminster* (1598). Of these the Aitken Collection has a beautiful copy of the Chaucer, and the Stark Collection, a yet uncatalogued 1615 volume of *Annales, or a Generall Chronicle of England begun first by Maister John Stow, and after him continued & augmented with matters forreyne & domestique, auncient & moderne unto the end of this present yeere 1614 by Edmond Howes, gentleman* (1615).

Stow carried on the tradition of his predecessors, by frankly borrowing the words of Geoffrey, Moore, Hall, and Holinshed as he pleased, but with his own zeal for directness of style. Indeed, a preface addressed "To the honest and vnderstanding reader," though signed by Howes, seems to express the purpose of Stow: "Expect no fyled phrases, Ink-horne termes, vncouth wordes, nor fantastique speeches, but good playne English without affectation. If Ciceroes eloquence, Platoes Oratory, or Virgils loftie verse, be thy chief desire; Poules church-yard is now plentiously furnished to satisfie thee." That he put into practice these sentiments is exemplified in his two sentences corresponding to those quoted earlier in this paper from Hall and Holinshed:

The Duke of Yorke and his adherents, perciuing that their accusing of the Duke of Somerset preuailed not, determined to reueng their quarrell, and obtaine their purpose by open warre. (Page 398.)

The K. was not hasty to purchase the deliurance of the Earle of March because his title to ye crowne was wel knowne but suffered him to remaine in prison. (Page 328.)

Yet the chronicler occasionally departs from his authorities to give place to items of literary history, such as his own accounts of the lives and works of Chaucer and Gower. His annals of the time in which he lived are quite valuable.

In the Rare Book Collections are also to be found early copies of several versified chronicles that were extremely popular in

Elizabethan England. One of these, *A Mirror for Magistrates*, went through thirteen editions between 1559 and 1620, according to the *Short Title Catalogue*. The complex bibliographical history of this work has been thoroughly explored in two erudite volumes by Dr. Lily B. Campbell, a distinguished graduate of The University of Texas. Separate poems contributed to the *Mirror* by Baldwin, Sackville, Churchill, Higgins, and other versifiers purport to have Julius Caesar, Gorboduc, Cordila, Locrinus, Glendower, Jack Cade, and a host of historical or legendary figures tell how they climbed to high estate and then fell. These "tragedies" are said to be reflected in "upwards of thirty historical plays." The Aitken Collection has an incomplete text of the 1587 *Mirror* bound together with the 1578 *Second Part of the Mirror*. Of course, there are also in the main library modern editions of the entire series.

A somewhat similar verse chronicle, though a single narrative, is William Warner's *Albion's England*, of which seven editions appeared between 1586 and 1612, indicating a popularity only second to the *Mirror*. This long poem in somewhat crude heptameter couplets starts with Noah's flood and comes down to the author's own time, with special reference to the story of Britain. Warner's work, too, became a source for contemporary drama and fiction, and received high praise from Francis Meres. The Library possesses at present two fine copies of the 1602 edition, an imperfect text of 1596, and also a reprint of the whole poem in Chalmers' *English Poets*.

Samuel Daniel (1562-1619) became interested in the Wars of the Roses about the same time as did his close contemporary, William Shakespeare, and may have furnished a minor source for some of the latter's historical plays. Most important of Daniel's early works is the long epic poem of *The Civil Wars*. Both the Wrenn and the Aitken collections have copies of *The first fowre Bookes of the ciuile wares between the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke* (1595). The Wrenn copy does not contain Book Five. The Aitken copy, despite its title, does contain all of Book Five except the final leaf, and carries different ornamentation on its title-page. Daniel, who took great care to revise his lines, published in 1609 an edition of *The civile wares . . . corrected and continued*. Of this 1609 edition the Aitken Collection has two copies, one imperfect.

An abbreviated chronicle of British history, expressed in far richer poetry than any of these, is to be found in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Book II. The first edition of Books I, II, and III of this famous poem, dated 1590, is represented by two exemplars in the Rare Book Collections, and there are also several copies of the complete poem, published in 1596. These books and other poems by Spenser are among the most valuable items in the Library.

In addition to the early editions discussed, the Library has modern reprints of such works as Hardyngh's rhymed chronicle and the *Flores Historiarum*. There are also several seventeenth century editions of Drayton's historical poems, though at present we have none of the sixteenth century. It goes without saying that both graduate students and teachers have found rich material for research in these chronicles, but much more remains to be used.

The Ill-Fated Works of Francisco Hernandez

NETTIE LEE BENSON

DURING THE recent prolonged drouth, the press and radio have emphasized the destructive power of fire over nature itself, but probably few people are aware of the loss dealt to both the arts and sciences and especially to natural history by the great fire of June 7-8, 1671, that destroyed the Royal Monastery of the Escorial in Spain, and in so doing the works, among others, of Dr. Francisco Hernández, court physician of Philip II of Spain and one of the first scientists to be sent to New Spain to study the plant, animal and mineral life of that area. Hernández, with his son and his assistant, the cosmographer Francisco Domínguez, arrived in Mexico in 1570 to fulfill the royal commission to write the natural, ancient and political history of New Spain and the chorography of that territory. For seven years he traveled the length and breadth of the conquered territory, interviewing the natives, collecting specimens of plants, animals and minerals, viewing their habitat and their uses, learning their native names in the various sections of the country, reproducing them in line and color, testing their medicinal value in the hospitals of the land and writing up the results of his experiments and findings.

Upon his departure from Spain, Hernández had been named *protomedico* (chief physician) of the kingdom of New Spain, and, as such, he could and did call upon all medical men of the kingdom to aid him in every way to realize the monumental task assigned him. To illustrate his findings he enlisted the aid of native artists, skilled in the production and use of colors, as illustrated by their fifteen odd original sixteenth century maps in the TxU Latin American Collection and by the Badinaus manuscript in the Vatican Library.

Toward the end of the five year period allotted for completion of the task, Hernández wrote the king that he needed more time, that he had completed fifteen volumes (five of texts on the plants, animals and minerals of the country and ten of illustrations) but that he needed another year at least to complete his experimentation and the revision of the manuscript and its translation into Spanish and the Indian language so that copies of it could be left in New Spain for the use of the native doctors. In 1577, Hernández finally returned to Spain, carrying with him sixteen volumes (six of texts and ten of illustrations) and leaving, according to Nicolás León, three or four copies of his manuscripts and sketches of his illustrations in Mexico.

All of Hernández' letters to Philip II indicate that he believed that his work would be published immediately, but to his great disappointment this did not occur. Instead, according to Balthasar Porreño, in his *Dichos i Hechos del Señor Rei D. Phelipe II* (Sevilla 1639), the volumes of texts and sketches were beautifully bound in blue leather ornamented with gold with clasps, corner plates and ornaments of heavy silver and placed in the library of the Escorial, while the beautifully colored illustrations were placed in the gallery and the apartment of Philip II.

Either prior to the death of Hernández in January 1587, or shortly thereafter, the king appointed another of his court physicians, an Italian, Dr. Nardo Antonio Recchi, to make a compendium of the medically valuable part of the Hernández manuscript. The exact date of Recchi's appointment is unknown, but as José Fernando Ramírez pointed out in his study of Hernández (*Obras del Lic. Don José Fernando Ramírez*, Tomo I. Mexico, 1898), Recchi had completed his assignment before April 11, 1589, when José Acosta's *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (Sevilla, 1590) went to the press, for in his work Acosta referred to the extract that Recchi had made from the work of Hernández. Recchi's compendium, however, like the Hernández original, did not soon see print.

Apparently the first printed work that made use of Hernández' findings as reported in Recchi's compendium was that of Juan de Barrios, *Verdadera Medicina, Astrología y Cirugía* (Mexico, 1607), which had a treatise, comprising only twenty pages, containing brief prescriptions without any descriptions of the plants and en-

titled "De todas las yerbas que por mandado de su majestad descubrió en esta Nueva España el Dr. Francisco Hernández, protomedico, aplicadas a todas las enfermedades, el cómo y qué cantidad, y en que: y así mismo después examinadas y vistas por el Dr. Nardo Antonio Recco en Madrid, por mandado del rey" (On the herbs that Dr. Francisco Hernández, chief physician, on orders from His Majesty, discovered in this New Spain, applied to all maladies, how and what quantity and in what: and also afterwards examined and seen by Dr. Nardo Antonio Recchi in Madrid, by order of the king).

Hernández himself in several letters to the king stated that he was leaving copies in Mexico of his work in Latin, Spanish, and Indian; but if he did so, none of these has yet come to light. Barrios obviously used the Recchi compendium, and contrary to Emily Walcott Emmart in her introduction to the Martín de la Cruz, *The Badianus Manuscript (Codex Barberini, Latin 241.) Vatican Library. An Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore, 1940) and to F. W. Pennell in *Plants and Plant Science in Latin America*, edited by Frans Verdoorn (Waltham, Mass., 1945), Francisco Ximénez, who translated and edited the next printed volume relating to the works of Hernández, did not use one of the copies that Hernández had left in Mexico. Ximénez, in his edition of Francisco Hernández, *Cuatro Libros de la Naturaleza y Virtudes Medicinales de las Plantas y Animales de la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1615), stated that Recchi's original compendium, revised by Dr. Francisco Valle and signed by him, had come to the Indies and into his (Ximénez') hand by rare chance. He stated further that having seen the remedies described therein proven many times in the Hospital of Oaxtepec where he worked, and having seen much of the work of Hernández used corruptly in the works of Drs. Agustín Farfán, Juan Barrios and Alfonso López de Hinojoso, he felt that the Hernández work should be published in Spanish and he had therefore translated and edited the Recchi compendium as revised by Valle.

Neither the volumes of Barrios or Ximénez were illustrated. The first published work making use of the Hernández illustrations was Juan Eusebio Nieremberg's *Historia Naturae Maxime Peregrinae (Antuerpiae, 1635)* Nieremberg drew heavily on the Hernández manuscript, the original of which he stated that he had at hand in

preparing his work. He borrowed so extensively from Hernández' work—some 235 folio pages either reproduced verbatim or in paraphrase Hernández' descriptions and his illustrations in black and white—that Joaquín García Icazbalceta stated in *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1886) that Nieremberg's work might well be classed as a compendium or extract of Hernández along with that of Recchi. This is surely true in regard to the sections in which Nieremberg treats of the plants and animals of southern North America. Thanks to Nieremberg some of Hernández' findings in regard to such commonly known animals as the coyote, the bison,

TAVRVS QVIVIRENSIS.



Bizonte or cibolo (bison or buffalo)
from Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Historia Naturae* (Antwerpiae, 1635)

the armadillo, the possum and the rattlesnake were first described under their native as well as Latin names and pictured in black and white sketches probably made from the Hernández illustrations. While Nieremberg sometimes reproduced the native symbols that accompanied the original illustrations, he, unfortunately, did not reproduce the marvelous true-to-life coloring realized by the native artists in the original illustrations.

Nieremberg was not the only one to make some use of the Her-

nández illustrations. Prince Frederico Cesi, Duke of Aqua Sparta, founded the Lyncean Society in Italy on August 17, 1603. He secured from Recchi's nephew the Recchi manuscript and in 1612 set the members of the society to work preparing it for publication. Apparently various manuscript copies of Recchi's compendium were in circulation, for, as has been stated, Juan Barrios in Mexico had access to one as early as 1607 and Ximénez also made use of a copy for his 1615 translation—possibly, but not necessarily, the same copy that Barrios had used. Lawrence C. Wroth in "Notes for Bibliophiles" in *New York Herald Tribune Books*, volume 16, number 45, page 14 (July 14, 1940) stated that "in the John Carter Brown Library of Providence, Rhode Island, is the manuscript 'De Materia Medica' described in the Libri Catalogue (1859), no. 1229, as in the autograph of Dr. Recchi. This manuscript belonged in the library of Cardinal Francisco Saverino de Zelada (1717–1801)." This may be the manuscript used by the Lyncean Society. Apparently, however, the Hernández illustrations taken by Recchi to Italy did not form a part of this manuscript nor have they been located to date.

Prince Cesi did not spare expense in preparing the Recchi compendium for publication. He had three-dimensional illustrations made from the original Hernández illustrations, which it appears were extracted from the Hernández material at the same time that Recchi made his compendium. Nicolás León wrote that Charles III ordered the Spanish ambassador in Rome to try to recover the original Hernández illustrations that Recchi had carried away. In reproducing the Hernández illustrations, if they had them to work from, Cesi's artists did not reproduce either the color or the native symbols, which revealed so much regarding the habitat of the plants and animals.

The Lyncean Society had completed its work on the Recchi compendium by 1628. According to León, the completed work was not published until 1651, but he admits that the date of publication is a bibliographical question whose clarification is extremely difficult. Dates cited range from 1628 to 1651. He argues that the completed work could not have been issued before 1651, because the dedication to Rodrigo de Mendoza, Duque del Infantado, is dated 1651. The completed work has two title pages, a printed one and an engraved one. The engraved title page in some copies bears the date

1648, in some 1651, with the printed title page usually having the date 1651. Both the engraved title page reading *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus, Sive Seu Plantarum Animalium, Mineralium Mexicanorum Historia a Francisco Hernández . . .*, and the printed title page reading *Nova Plantarum; Animalium et Mineralium Mexicanorum Historia a Francisco Hernández . . .*, of the copy recently acquired by the University of Texas Library bear the date 1651. This copy came from the library of the Prince of Liechtenstein.

The completed work is of two volumes of several parts. Only the first volume relates to the Recchi compendium of Hernández' work. Its first eight books describes 412 plants and includes 350 engravings. Added to this is a sort of appendix listing 300 drawings of plants under their Indian names only, which Recchi extracted from the Hernández illustrations. Joan Terencio adds descriptions to a few of these illustrations. The ninth book contains 25 figures of animals with their descriptions and the tenth without any illustrations treats of minerals. Among the illustrations of animals are those of the rattlesnake, the armadillo, the javelina, the bison, and other native animals of the southwest known to Hernández. The second volume, which forms almost half of the folio tome, has little to do with the Recchi compendium. John Fabri, a German physician to Pope Urban VIII, uses book nine, dealing with animals, as a pretext for expounding his own observations on the subject. Fabio Columna added to the comments made by Terencio and Prince Cesi contributed his "Tablas Phytosophicas."

Until 1790 the above-mentioned works were all that the world in general had of Hernández' great work, for the original work was supposed to have been completely destroyed by the fire. Not long before 1790, however, an inquisitive scholar by the name of Juan Bautista Muñoz, while browsing in the library of the Imperial Jesuit College of Madrid, unearthed a copy of the works (the text only) of Hernández with revisions made by Hernández himself. Upon news of the discovery, José de Galvez, then Minister of the Indies, induced Charles III of Spain to authorize the publication of the complete work at royal expense. To provide in some way for the lack of illustrations, the Spanish ambassador in Rome was ordered to try to get back the illustrations taken by Recchi; but evi-

dently he was unsuccessful, for no illustrations appeared with the 1790 edition of Hernández' works: *Opera cum edita, tum inedita, ad autographi fidem et integritatem expressa* (3 volumes, Maritii, 1790), with a preface by the Spanish naturalist, Casimiro Gómez Ortega. As originally planned five volumes were to have been published—three on the botanical part of the work, one on the animals and minerals with an extensive index, and the last containing the other works of Hernández and an extensive biography. Only the first three on botany were published without illustration, although Gómez Ortega stated in his preface to the first volume that lest some should complain that the Hernández illustrations were irreparably lost in the fire, the two kings, Charles III and Charles IV intended to supply illustrations. Charles III ordered those taken by Recchi discovered and returned, and upon learning that none of the documents that had served for the 1651 Recchi edition were to be found in Italy, he and later Charles IV sent the botanists Vicente Cervantes and José Longinos Martínez to New Spain, who with the aid of other scientists and under the direction of the physician Dr. Martín Sessé, were to cover the length and breadth of the land in search of the specimens described by Hernández and, through the aid of artists, were to make colored illustrations to be used to illustrate the 1790 edition.

The Institute of Biology of the national university of Mexico began in 1942 the publication of a five volume Spanish translation of the 1790 edition, entitled *Historia de las Plantas de Nueva España*. By 1946, three volumes had appeared. Black and white illustrations are given for many of the plants as well as their scientific names, native habitat and modern uses. Again Hernández' ill-fated work remained unfinished, for only three of the projected five volumes were published. Those who had undertaken its annotation and editing have scattered and become engaged in other activities, according to Germán Somolinos D' Artois in "El Fracaso Editorial de la Obra de Francisco Hernández" in ano X, number 1 of *Cuadernos Americanos* (Mexico, 1951).

In 1888 there appeared almost simultaneously in Mexico two editions of the *Cuatro Libros de la Naturaleza . . .*, translated in 1615 by Ximénez. The first to appear, a folio volume of 342 pages, was edited by Dr. Antonio Peñafiel and issued by the Secretaría de

Fomento. The second was edited by Dr. Nicolás León and published in Morelia at the expense of Agustín Canseco, governor of Oaxaca. León, in his fifty-two page introduction, gave a brief biographical sketch of Ximénez and of Hernández and a rather complete history of the adversities of Hernández' works, and reproduced the correspondence between Hernández and Philip II at it appeared under the title "Cartas escritas a Felipe II por su médico el Doctor Francisco Hernández . . ." in volume one of *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España* (Madrid, 1842). Peñafiel wrote a very brief preface for his edition, but compiled a much more extensive index than León. His index, however, was arranged by books rather than for the work as a whole. To facilitate the use of both the León and Peñafiel editions, Manuel Fernández Leal, in charge of the Secretaría de Fomento in 1900, had a 22 page alphabetical index made for both editions and published it under the title *Indice Alfabética de la Obra de Fr. Francisco Jiménez, Titulada: Cuatro Libros de la Naturaleza y Virtudes de las Plantas y Animales de Uso Medicinal en la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1900). All who use either of these editions will find this index extremely useful.

Hernández' work on the antiquities of New Spain did not see print until 1926, when with the title *De Antiquitatibus Novae Hispaniae, Códice de la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid*, a facsimile of the manuscript was published by the National Museum of Archeology, History and Ethnography of Mexico. It was translated from the Latin and published with annotations by Joaquín García Pimentel in Mexico in 1946 under the title *Antiguedades de la Nueva España*.

In regard to this work some have accused Hernández of plagiarism, of having literally extracted the work from the appendix of book II of Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*. García Icazbalceta, in Hernández' defense, pointed out that Sahagún's writings circulated for a long time separately and anonymously (not published until 1829 in Mexico by Carlos María Bustamante) and possibly in such fashion reached Hernández, who finding them to his liking and useful to the fulfillment of his commission made use of them without necessarily pretending to be their author. Had he not been commissioned to seek out all information and material he could find relating to the history of the region?

The extent of Hernández' travels in the New World has not yet been completely established. It is known that he spent some time in the Canary Islands and in Haiti, for he frequently referred to these two places and stated that he had written a work on the Canary Islands and another on the plants of Haiti. These works, like those on New Spain, were not published; and both are unknown today. It is known also that Hernández traveled very extensively in New Spain. Nicolás León in his *Bibliografía Botánico-Mexicana* (Mexico, 1895) stated that he had attempted to outline on a sixteenth century map of New Spain the places visited by Hernández which he had intended to publish, but that he had not been able to realize its publication. What happened to the map made by León is not known. The next person to attempt to trace Hernández' itinerary in New Spain is Germán Somolinos d'Ardois of the Sociedad Histórico-Médica "Francisco Hernández," who, in "El Viaje del Doctor Francisco Hernández por la Nueva España" appearing in Tomo XXII of *Anales del Instituto de Biología* of the University of Mexico, presents an excellent analysis of Hernández' travels along with several maps showing the probable routes he followed. Somolinos d'Ardois, in working out the various itineraries, made use of several of the sixteenth century *relaciones* published by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso in *Papeles de Nueva España* (Madrid, 1905). He did not have access to two such *relaciones*, the original manuscripts of which are in the TxU Latin American Collection. These two—"Descripción de Teozacualco y Amoltepec" by Hernando de Cervantes and Juan Ruiz Zuazo and "Descripción de Tiripitío" by Montes de Oca, both written in 1580—refer to the visit by Hernández to Teozacualco, Amoltepec and Tiripitío, places apparently not known by Somolinos d' Ardois to have been visited by Hernández. In the description of Teozacualco and Amoltepec the authors stated that since Hernández had already given an account of the natural history of those places they were omitting that part. Montes de Oca in his description of Tiripitío in Michoacán said that since Hernández (*el protomedico*) had visited that place, experimented with the plants, written of them, and carried away paintings of them that section dealing with plants was not being included in the report. Alfonso Caso in "El Mapa de Teozacoalco" in *Cuadernos Americanos, volume XLVII, no 5* (Sept.-Oct.,

1949) published only nine paragraphs of the twenty-seven in the "Descripción de Teozacualco." Caso stated that he had published the said description in 1927 in volume one of *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos*. The description published there is also of only nine paragraphs (the same ones published in *Cuadernos Americanos* by Caso). The original manuscripts of many of the sixteenth century *relaciones* published in volumes one and two of *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos* are in the TxU Latin American Collection, and a comparison of the published version with the original reveals that in almost all cases the published account is only a fragment of the original and that most of the paragraphs dealing with the plants and animals have been omitted as well as all the maps.

Interesting data on Hernández may be found also in Ambrosio de Morales, *Las Antiguedades de las Ciudades de España Que Van Nombradas en la Corónica* (Alcalà de Henares, 1575); Agustín Jesús Barreiro, *Los Trabajos Inéditos del Doctor Francisco Hernández sobre la Gea y la Fauna Mexicana* (Madrid, 1929) and his *Testamento del Dr. Francisco Hernández* (Madrid, 1929); Manuel Urbina, "Los Amates de Hernández" in *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, tomo VII (Mexico, 1903); Humberto Julio Paoli, "Vicitudes de las Obras de Francisco Hernández" in *Archeion*, volume XXII, no. 2 (Rome, 1942); Salvatore ab. Proja, *Ricerche Critica Bibliografica in Torno alla Storia Natural de Messico di Francisco Hernández* (Rome, 1860); Guillermo Gandara, "La Obra de Fray Francisco Ximénez Comparada con la del Doctor Francisco Hernández, Recompuesta por el Dr. Nardo Antonio Recco" in volume 39 of *Memorias y Revista de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate"* (Mexico, 1921); Enrique Alvarez López, "El Dr. Francisco Hernández y sus Comentarios a Plinio" in volume three of *Revista de Indias* (Madrid, 1942); Germán Somolinos d' Ardois "Manuscrito Firmado, Original del Dr. Francisco Hernández, Aparecido en México" in volume IX of *Ciencia* (Mexico, 1948); and Francisco de las Barras y de Aragón, "Una Información sobre la Obra del Dr. Francisco Hernández en la Nueva España" in volume XLV of *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Historia Natural* (Madrid, 1947).

All works mentioned are in TxU except the 1615 Ximénez edi-

tion, Proja's *Rierche Critica* . . . , the works of Barreiro, and the periodicals *Archeion* and *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Historia Natural*. Also here are Agustín Farfán, *Tractado Brebe de Medicina, y de Toda las Enfermedades* (Mexico, 1592) and the 1610 edition of the same; but not his *Tractado Breve de Chirugía y del conocimiento y Cura de Algunas enfermedades, q. en Esta Tierra Más Comunmente Suele Aver* (Méjico, 1579) nor the work *Suma y Recopilación de Chirugía, con su Arte para Sagrar Muy Util y Provechosa* (Méjico, 1578) of Dr. Alonso López de Hinojosa, who worked closely with Hernández during his stay in Mexico.

William (alias Joseph Brown) Ladd: A Spurious Biography in the Bieber Collection

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READING IN THE extensive Bieber Collection of American poetry in the Library of the University of Texas, one cannot fail to remark that the destiny of most American poets has been oblivion. Against a handful of the remembered the company of the forgotten is legion. One excitement of perusing the collection is the prospect of turning up a buried poet who deserves resurrection for his overlooked literary merits. Another, and more probable, excitement is the possibility of discovering a poet who is historically important because his poetry and his career reflect the sensibilities of his age. A third, though less intense, excitement is the likelihood of finding useful biographical and bibliographical clues concerning the poets in the collection. Both the last two interests are attached to the case of the Charleston, South Carolina, poet-physician Joseph Brown Ladd (1764-1786), who is represented in the Bieber collection by a rare volume entitled *The Poems of Arouet* and by, as it will be subsequently disclosed, a spurious biography in which he is misnamed "William" Ladd. Utilizing these sources and other valuable materials relating to the literary history of the early American Republic in the library, it is possible to augment the existing studies of Ladd by two unnoticed particulars of his posthumous career and to point out an error in the cataloguing of the Bieber Collection.¹

Ladd, a native of Rhode Island, moved to Charleston in 1783 to practice medicine. Orator, essayist, and poet, innovator as well as

¹ For studies of Ladd see Granville Hicks on Ladd in *DAB*, X, 526-527; and two articles by Lewis Leary: "A Forgotten Charleston Poet: Joseph Brown Ladd," *Americana*, XXXVI, 571-588 (Oct., 1942); "The Writings of Joseph Brown Ladd," *Bulletin of Bibliography*, XVIII, 131-133 (Jan.-April, 1945).

traditionalist in literary techniques, he enjoyed a considerable vogue as a man of letters in his adopted city; and his works afford an index to the uncertain taste of an age when a decadent neo-classicism and an embryonic romanticism imposed conflicting demands upon the American writer. Ladd made perhaps his chief appeal in the rôle of "the wretched Arouet" agonizing over his cruel Amanda, who offered him friendship but not love. Shortly before his death as the result of a duel, he published anonymously the volume called *The Poems of Arouet* (Charleston, 1786). After his death, his fame spread. In the first eighteen numbers of Matthew Carey's *American Museum*, Lewis Leary points out, Ladd was reprinted twice as often as Philip Freneau. But his popularity soon faded. *The Poems of Arouet* was never republished, and it was nearly fifty years after the poet's death before his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Haskins, attempted "to rescue from oblivion the scattered relics of a genius" with her edition of his prose and poetry.² Meanwhile, Ladd had been remembered in two important (and insufficiently regarded) pioneer histories of American writing: Samuel Kettell's *Specimens of American Poetry* (New York, 1829) and Samuel L. Knapp's *Lectures on American Literature* (New York, 1829). But in each case he had been misnamed. Kettell had called him "William" Ladd, Knapp "Josiah" (a natural slip for Joseph) Brown Ladd. These errors, Leary assumes, were tokens of Ladd's long oblivion. But in reality Ladd had never been wholly forgotten. Aided by the vagaries of fate, he had been preserved as "William" Ladd.

A quest for the ultimate explanation of this confusion leads to a rather unlikely source, that group of early American literary arbiters, the Anthology Society of Boston. In effect it was the Anthologists who condemned Ladd to uncertain and distorted remembrance. It happened in this way. William Emerson, second editor of the *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* and the vice president of the Anthology Society, was connected with the Ladd family through his wife, the sister-in-law of Ladd's sister Elizabeth. Presumably because of this connection and because he was a prominent man of letters in the Boston community, Emerson, now remembered as the father of Ralph Waldo Emerson, was entrusted with Ladd's papers. Exactly when or by whom is not clear. It seems logical to suppose

² *The Literary Remains of Joseph Brown Ladd, M.D.* (New York, 1832).

that Elizabeth Haskins had acquired her brother's papers and, hoping to see them published, had turned them over to her sister-in-law's husband.³ Emerson in turn sought the aid of his colleagues in the Anthology Society. On November 14, 1805, in fact, he invited them to his home for dinner, with the particular intention, according to the Society's *Journal*, of reading "various new poems by Mr Ladd, hitherto unedited, & to consult concerning a new edition, much enlarged, of that author's poetry." After listening to "many" poems not in the 1786 edition, however, Emerson's associates found themselves "not much gratified" and made "no particular determination" about publishing them. Despite this setback, Emerson, possibly for family reasons, proposed to prepare a short biography of the poet and to "select the best manuscript & newspaper productions of Ladd for a new edition."⁴

Without the interest of his companions, this must have seemed a bleak task. After nearly four years, Emerson had evidently got no further than the composition of a short article on Ladd. Hoping perhaps even yet to interest the Anthology Society in an edition of Ladd, he offered it for "Silva," a department of literary gleanings in the *Monthly Anthology*. Unfortunately, his article contained a quotation from Ladd unfavorable to Warren Hastings (apparently one from the poem called "Remonstrance of Almasa Allicawn, Wife of Alma Allicawn, to Warren Hastings," which says Hastings has a heart "polluted with ten thousand crimes"). As a result the Anthologists voted not to publish Emerson's offering.⁵ This rebuff seems to have permanently squelched his proposal to edit Ladd. The poet's reception by the Bostonians reflects their strict critical standards for native writers, their antipathy to sentimentalism, and their conservative, Anglophilic disposition. Any poet who masqueraded as "the wretched Arouet" would have been eyed coldly by them; and one

³ William Emerson married Ruth Haskins in 1796. Earlier, in 1791, John Haskins, an older brother of Ruth Haskins, had married Elizabeth Ladd, a sister of Joseph Brown Ladd. See David Greene Haskins, *Ralph Waldo Emerson, His Maternal Ancestors* (Boston, 1887), p. 147. For this information and for other aid in establishing the connection between William Emerson and Joseph Brown Ladd, I am indebted to Professor Ralph L. Rusk of Columbia University.

⁴ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Society Which Conducts the Monthly Anthology & Boston Review*, October 3, 1805, to July 2, 1811, introd. M. A. De Wolfe Howe (Boston, 1910), pp. 43, 45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

who spoke ill of Hastings would have been suspected, if not by all the Anthologists, at least by some of them, notably such an inveterate defender of the status quo as the Society's president, the Reverend John Sylvester John Gardiner.

Such was Ladd's fate with the Bostonians. The next incident in his posthumous career took place in Philadelphia, when in 1814 a neat travesty of his life appeared in the *Port Folio*'s "American Biography" series. This article, which created the "William" Ladd memorialized by Kettell, was one among several designed to give the Philadelphia magazine "something of a national cast." In part, therefore, it was literary patriotism which inspired the anonymous *Port Folio* writer to fabricate a biography of an American poet as a "desponding lover." By implication his article assures the reader that America has poets as romantic as those of any land. (Furthermore, it is probably no accident that Ladd's story is made an oblique reflection of Goethe's immensely popular *The Sorrows of Werther*.) But the *Port Folio*'s "Ladd" has another interesting motive: it is an apology for the poetic as opposed to the practical. The key to Ladd's doleful career is Amanda's distrust of the poetic imagination. Indeed, Amanda may be taken as an image of the utilitarian attitude which the aspiring literati of the early Republic often blamed for frustrating literary effort in America. Briefly, this is the tale the *Port Folio* biographer—sustained by a copy of *The Poems of Arouet* and possibly a tenuous legend about Ladd—relates. "William" Ladd was born in 1755 (actually 1764) in Rhode Island "of poor but honest parents." Early in his youth poetry became his refuge from the ills of life. At length his fortunes turned and he became a well-known doctor, only at the commencement of success to fall in love with Amanda, a practical person who was repulsed by his poetic temperament. Seeking release from the pain of her indifference, Ladd went to South Carolina. Amanda, whose conduct the writer regards as reprehensible, shortly afterwards married "a man who possessed plain practical sense." Eventually Ladd was challenged to a duel and was wounded, though it seemed not critically. "But this unhappy man had become weary of the world; he refused medical assistance; a mortification at first ensued, and afterwards death. . . ." Ladd's poetry, the writer says, displays no "ordinary cant"; it represents "solemn, affecting, simple, deep-toned energy

and feeling. . . ." If any of Ladd's poetic epistles to Amanda remain unpublished, he remarks further, "their suppression is a loss to the literature of our country."⁶

In the Bieber Collection the *Port Folio* biography of Ladd is to be found as a separately bound article. Apparently it was among the reprints collected by the well-known nineteenth-century biographers and historians of American literature, Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck; for it is identified as having been in the Duyckinck Collection once possessed by the Lenox Library of New York. The title on the binding is written in pencil: "Life of Dr. Ladd American Poet." The spurious quality of the article is obvious, even though the error in naming Ladd may reflect the writer's distant knowledge of the Ladd family. (Ladd's father was named William.) Leary bases his account of Ladd's early life on the biography furnished by W. B. Chittenden as an introduction to the *Remains of Joseph Brown Ladd* collected by Mrs. Haskins. In this version of his life, Ladd was in love with an orphan heiress whose guardians would not consent to her marriage. His love was returned, and before he left for South Carolina he and Amanda became privately engaged. This is a more plausible story than the highly contrived one in the *Port Folio*, and it is in general accord with the facts uncovered by Leary concerning the poet's life in Charleston, where he seems to have pursued his opportunities with a vigor not usually expressed by a man weary of life.

When the *Port Folio* author calls for the publication of any unpublished poems by Ladd, does he imply a knowledge of the fate of the poet's manuscripts in Boston? If so, his plea evidently brought no response from the Bostonians, among whom must have been two or three who saw the *Port Folio* regularly. Nor did anyone trouble to correct Ladd's name or to question the fanciful biography. By the time the article appeared in the *Port Folio*, it should be added, William Emerson was dead and the Anthology Society defunct.

Ladd's memory was darkened still more when fifteen years later Samuel Kettell perpetuated the spurious existence of "William" Ladd by plagiarizing the biography in the *Port Folio*. He prefaces the account with the remark that Ladd's life "realizes the dreams of romance, and presents as striking a case of ill-starred love as ever

⁶ "American Biography," *Port Folio*, II, 3rd. ser., 454-460 (Nov., 1813).

furnished a theme for the novelist or poet." There follows a close paraphrase of the original article. Deviations in phrasing are largely to its detriment.⁷

Perhaps Kettell's erroneous treatment of her brother moved Elizabeth Haskins to issue her edition of Ladd's works. At any rate, the 1832 edition restored the poet's name and he makes a correct appearance in later nineteenth-century anthologies and encyclopedias, including the Duyckinck's. Even yet, however, the spurious Ladd has not altogether relinquished his shadowy existence. Ironically, he makes his reappearance in a list of "unstudied" authors in the recent *Report of the Committee on Trends in Research in American Literature, 1940-1950* (American Literature Group, Modern Language Association, 1951).

A final question is the fate of the Ladd manuscripts mentioned in the Anthology Society's *Journal*. Likely they were lost or destroyed before Mrs. Haskins made her collection, for she utilized only printed sources. They may well have disappeared when the Emersons moved from the parish house in Boston after William Emerson's death.⁸

Altogether, the story of Ladd's posthumous career indicates that had the Anthology Society warmed a little to Arouet's passion, we would probably have a more reliable biography of Ladd and possibly a larger collection of his works. But the comment upon the literary psychology of the early Republic afforded by the biography of "William" Ladd may be as valuable as a more accurate knowledge of the real Ladd would be.

⁷ See *Specimens of American Poetry*, I, 334-338.

⁸ Concerning the circumstances of the Emerson family, see Ralph L. Rusk, *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1949), p. 40. According to Mr. William A. Jackson, the Ladd papers are not in the extensive Emerson collection in the Houghton Library at Harvard.

New Acquisitions

THIS SECTION reviews from time to time the important gifts and purchases received in the Library for the period between issues of the CHRONICLE. It is a selective list, and cannot always include every item which may be worthy of mention; but it is intended that it shall always be representative of the most significant kinds of acquisitions.

RARE BOOK COLLECTIONS

Though Rare Book Collections has added no extensive group of manuscripts within the past year, it has enjoyed a fairly steady trickle of autograph material, such as letters by George Meredith, which we buy as opportunity comes; two notes by Thomas Mann, dated September 28, 1912, and August 9, 1923; and a letter from Sarah J. Hale, editor of *Godey's*, to Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport, Mass., asking him for a sketch of his late wife for her magazine—his reply is drafted on this same sheet, and with this sheet is the manuscript of the requested sketch.

Mr. H. J. Lutcher Stark has added to his mother's library at the University of Texas another early letter by Byron, dated from Southwell, October 20, 1806; two important letters by Jefferson Davis, the earlier to William Ellsworth, dated from Washington on June 5, 1856, the other to an unidentified correspondent dated from Memphis, October 25, 1872; and an early draft by Mary Ann Jackson (wife of Stonewall Jackson) of a magazine article on her husband's life and character.

Bought by Mr. Starck for his private collection, but left on indefinite loan at the University, are two rare and notable manuscripts. The first is a long, important letter by John Calvin, written from Geneva, June 10, 1542, and addressed to his friend, "Madame Besson, in Orbe Maison Solard," said to be the first John Calvin letter to come on sale within the past twenty years. The second is a

richly illuminated *Psalter* on vellum of fifteenth century workmanship, the first liturgical manuscript done in England to come to the University of Texas. Its execution, exceptionally fine throughout, is particularly noticeable in the brilliant gold of its capitals. The little volume came from Mr. M. P. Dare of England who had it, through a long line, from an ancestor who was also the ancestor of Virginia Dare of Raleigh's ill-fated colony, the first white child born in America.

Worth a longer note than can be given here are the several magnificent reproductions of great manuscripts recently acquired by the Rare Book Collections. Of these the most notable received since *The Book of Kells* several years ago is the *Ilias Ambrosiana . . . Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis. In Aedibus Urs Graf. Berna et Oltun Helvetiae*, 1953. This is a photographic reproduction in color of the famous Homeric codex of the Ambrosian Library in Milan. In its present state the codex is but a fragment of the original manuscript of 380 to 390 vellum leaves containing the entire *Iliad* in about 15,690 verses, with a calculated 240 colored illustrations. Of all this magnificence there remain only 58 cut-out illustrations on 52 sheets and such of the text as is written on the back of these cut-outs, about 810 verses or one-twentieth of the entire poem.

Because the script is that known as "Biblical uncial" in common use from the 1st to the Vth century, it is impossible to date the codex precisely. The accepted date seems to be "somewhere about the IVth century." The dismemberment took place after the XIth century. It is one of the books bought in 1608 by Cardinal Borromeo from the heirs of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, the Venetian book collector. Newly bound in 1612, and catalogued merely as a book of pictures, without any reference to the Homeric text, the codex was lost to knowledge for two centuries, until 1819, when the future Cardinal Angelo Mai recognized it as the illustrated Homer of the Pinelli Collection.

Though a mere fragment of the original illustrations, the 58 surviving pictures are of very great significance. "In them is preserved for us a copy of such illustrations to Homeric poems as were made in ancient times by the Greek artists both in painting and sculpture."

One of the finest illuminated manuscripts in the National Library of Vienna is a volume setting forth the organization and rules of *The Order of the Golden Fleece*, executed about 1520. It is catalogued as "Le Livre des Ordonnances de L'Ordre de la Toison D'Or. Codex Vindobonensis 2606." In 1934 this manuscript was reproduced in facsimile on vellum, in original colors, initials, portraits, and coats-of-arms, making a volume of almost dazzling beauty, subdued to deeper richness by a binding of dark green velvet with metal clasps. A second volume, bound in dark green morocco, contains the editor's historical and bibliographical text.

Also from the National Library of Vienna comes the reproduction of a splendid "Book of Hours," executed for Galeazzo Maria Sforza (*Das Schwarze Gebetbuch des Herzogs Galeazzo Maria Sforza*), with miniatures attributed to Anton von Burgund of Bruges. Its binding, in facsimile of the original, is boards covered with red velvet decorated with gold ornaments, the entire surface sprinkled with small gold emblems of the Holy Spirit. It has dark red silk doublures and gold clasps with enamel medallions, and is enclosed in a velvet-lined case.

These three notable reproductions were bought from a fund bequeathed by Florence Ralston Brooke.

The Rare Book Collections have been greatly enriched these past few months by numerous acquisitions reflecting active research in progress in the general field represented by early grammars and dictionaries. A few of the dozen and more titles, picked at random, are Aldo Tio Maunzio: *Institutionum Grammaticarum Libri IV*. Venice, 1523; John Cheke: *De Pronuntiatione Graecae Potissimum Linguae*. Basle, 1555; Elyot: *Bibliotheca Eliotae*. London, 1552; and Estienne Dolet: *Commentariorum Linguae Latinae*. 2v. Leiden, 1535-1536.

From the latest truck received from the cataloguing room have been picked at random the following titles, each of which fits neatly into its particular group: William Anglionby: *The Present State of the United Provinces of the Low Countries*. London, 1671; Richard Baxter: *The Certainty of the World of Spirits*. London, 1691; David Blondel: *Des Sibylles Celebrees tant par L'antiquite Payenne que par les Saincts Peres*. Paris, 1649, bearing the armorial book-plate of the Bridgewater Library; Sir Thomas Bodley: *Reliquiae*

Bodleianae. London, 1703; William Camden: *Epistolae cum Appendice Varii Argumenti*. London, 1691; and *Reges, Reginae, Nobiles, et Alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petra Westmonasterii Sepulti*. London, 1600; William John Davies: *The Ancient Rites and Monuments of the ... Church of Durham*. London, 1672; Daniel Defoe: *An Answer Paragraph by Paragraph to the Memorial to the Church of England*. London, 1705; Marsilio Ficino: *De Religione Christiana et Fidei Pietate Opusculum*. Paris, 1510; Konrad Gesner: *Historiae Animalium*. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1603; Juan de la Cerda: *Libro Intitulado Vida Politicae de Todos los Estados de Mugeres*. 1579; Juan Perez de Moya: *Comparaciones o Similes para los Vicios y Virtudes*. Valencia, 1599; James Keill: *Anatomy of the Human Body*. London, 1746; Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius: *Des Divines Institutions contre les Gentils & Idolatres*. Lyon, 1555; William Lambardi: *Eirenarcha*. London, 1582; and *A Perambulation of Kent*. London, 1575; Ambrosius Aurelius Theodosius Macrobius: *Interpretatio in Somnium Scipionis à Cicerone Confictum*. Florence, 1515; John Webster: *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*. London, 1677; James Whatman: *Catalogue of the Library at Vinters*. London, 1841.

Rare Book Collections' all-but-definitive Kipling Collection has received a small but interesting item, a three-stanza poem entitled "Rudyard and Kipling 'The Michigan Sons,'" together with a note telling the story of its writing. Several years ago, so the note goes, Fred D. Underwood, late General Manager of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad named two stations in the upper peninsula of Michigan "Rudyard" and "Kipling," one being in an agricultural country and the other in an iron ore district. Some time later a mutual friend informed Mr. Kipling of Mr. Underwood's action, and the celebrated author sent Mr. Underwood his photograph with the manuscript poem on its back. The present folder was printed from the original manuscript by the American Autograph Shop for a few of its friends.

A recently published book of high importance for its format as well as content is *Handmade Papers of Japan*, by Thomas Keith Tindale and Harriett Ramsey Tindale, with introduction by Dard Hunter and illustrations (photographs) by Francis Haar, also purchased on the Florence Ralston Brooke Fund. It is a small folio in

four volumes with Oriental style hand-stencilled decorative wrappers, enclosed in a protective outer case. It was published by the Charles E. Tuttle Company, Tokio, 1952, in a Limited Edition of 150 copies printed on handmade paper with type set by hand.

The four volumes are

- I. The Handmade Papers of Japan, with 32 full-page photographs by Francis Haar.
- II. The Seki Collection, with portrait and biography of Mr. Seki, and 187 actual mounted specimens of paper from his collection, ranging in date from 710 A.D. to the present time.
- III. The Contemporary Collection, with whole-page samples of 139 different papers from 18 prefectures and the city of Kyoto.
- IV. The Watermark Collection, a port-folio of 20 of the finest Japanese Watermarks made in the mills of the Government Printing Agency at Oji and Saidaiji. These exquisite samples contain elaborate landscapes and seascapes, Noh drama masks, flowers, fruit, Japanese women in native costumes and other characteristic designs.

In addition, enclosed in the outer cases are specimens of five different fibres which are used in Japanese papermaking.

In connection with this newest work on papermaking should be noticed an important XVIIIth century work on the same subject by Matthias Koops: *Historical Account of the Substances Which Have Been Used to Describe Events and to Convey Ideas from the Earliest Date to the Invention of Paper*. London, 1801. 2nd edition. This book is printed on paper manufactured wholly from straw.

Though most of Dard Hunter's monumental works on papermaking are to be found in one or another of the departmental libraries of the University, Rare Book Collections have found it needful that a full set be available in one central place, and, accordingly, have recently added the following titles: *Papermaking through Eighteen Centuries*, New York, Rudge, 1930; *Papermaking in Southern Siam*, 1936; *A Papermaking Pilgrimage to Japan, Korea, and China*, New York, Pynson Printers, 1936; *Chinese Ceremonial Paper*, The Mountain House Press, 1937; *Papermaking by Hand in India*, New York, the Pynson Printers, 1939; *Papermaking in Indo-China*, 1947; *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft*, 1947.

Rare Book Collections' rich holdings of periodicals grow slowly, for the titles lacking on its shelves rarely come on the market, and when a needed item is offered some library nearer the centers of trade is likely to hear of it first. Recently, however, we have received two rare and desirable files: *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Germany: or, The History of the Reformation of Religion There*. Nos. 1-19, Sept. 3, 1677-Feb. 4, 1680. London, 1667-1680, bearing the Bridgewater Bookplate; and *The Child of Pallas: devoted mostly to the Belles-Lettres*, By Charles Prentiss. Baltimore, 1800. It ran through only eight weekly issues.

LATIN AMERICAN COLLECTION

Juan Pablos, Primer Impresor Que a Esta Tierra Vino by Agustín Millares Carlo and Julián Calvo is an interesting recent acquisition of the Latin American Collection. The volume, commemorating the first centennial of the birth of José Toribio Medina, is the first of a new series: *Documentos Mexicanos*, published by Manuel Porruá under the direction of Gabriel Saldivar, the well-known historian of the state of Tamaulipas.

The authors give a detailed study of the life and works of Pablos from June 12, 1539, the date he was employed by Juan Cromberger to be his printer in America, until his death in Mexico City in 1560. Of special interest to printers and publishers is the study that they make of the printing presses used by Pablos, especially of their types.

Between 1539 and 1560 some sixty-two different works have been said to have come off Pablos' presses. Millares Carlo discusses in detail all that he has been able to learn about each of these imprints, some of which cannot be located today. Of the sixty-two items described, the Latin American Collection has copies of thirteen. Here is one of the six known copies of the earliest work extant published in America—the *Dotrina breue muy prouechosa . . .* of Fray Juan de Zumárraga, which appeared in 1544. Among the other rare imprints in the collection is the most complete copy known of the *Didlogos* of Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, published in Mexico City in 1554 and describing that city at that date and life in its newly established royal university. Salvador Ugarte of Mexico City has an incomplete copy of this imprint in his private collection.

The University of Texas is publishing a facsimile edition of this work with a translation into English done by Mrs. Minnie Lee Shepard and an introduction and notes by Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda.

TEXAS COLLECTION

A recent acquisition for the Frank Kell Collection in the Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center is a fourteen-page brochure in pale blue or gray wraps. The title page reproduces the cover title with the addition of the imprint and reads: *Texas and the Country Traversed by the Houston, Sabine Pass, and Denison R'Y Company, and Its Important Terminus at Sabine Pass*. Houston: W. M. Coyle, Steam Printer and Binder. 1879.

The Houston, Sabine Pass, and Denison Railroad was incorporated on April 1, 1879. Doubtless the date of incorporation had nothing to do with the speedy lapsing of its charter which made it one of a multitude of unrealized projects for railroad construction in Texas. As a prospectus it was one that might have appealed to Frank Kell, who in 1879 was a twenty-year old citizen of Clifton, Texas, but was later to decide on the wording of brochures to advertise his own railways in the Wichita Falls area.

The line was projected to run from Houston to Sabine Pass and then to Denison, traversing fourteen Texas counties. Its promoters envisioned it as affording economical facilities for transportation of cotton and citrus crops in the southernmost territory and lumber, iron, coal, mineral waters, and oil in the upper reaches. The prophecy was a poor one as far as tropical fruits around Sabine Pass were concerned but amazingly accurate as to the oil in the Sour Lake area. The optimistic report on advantages of Sabine Pass as a harbor were made by the road's engineer, Abraham Cross, who had surveyed the north end of the pass in 1872-1873 and who in 1876 inspected dredging of the outer bar for the federal government.

The Board of Directors of the company included John T. Brady, a Houston attorney; Timothy H. Scanlan, who in 1887 was president and general manager of the Houston Water Works and vice president of the Houston Gas Light Company; Ingham S. Roberts, later a clerk for the law firm of Jones and Garnett; and Joseph Eugene Pillot, proprietor of Houston's leading opera house. James

G. Tracy, the secretary, was to be secretary of the Texas Western Railroad in 1882; H. H. Dooley, land commissioner, was a Houston real estate agent. Fred George de Pardonnet was president.

The little brochure is significant in a library collection because of its scarcity; it is significant in Texas history not for what was but for what might have been.







